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Faulkner's Dream of a Bear Hunt

William Faulkner's "The Bear" is one of his best known and artistically appreciated narratives. It is also one of the few instances when the question of the environment is discussed at length. In the version published in *The Saturday Evening Post* in 1942, the motif of wilderness is made more apparent,¹ since Faulkner omitted the section focusing on the relations within the McCaslin family. In this paper, I will examine Faulkner's portrayal of the main protagonist, Isaac McCaslin, as well as some of the secondary characters. I concentrate on the author's use of nature in this tale and link it to his reaction to the novelties brought to the Southern states by the New Deal.

In the opening of "The Bear" Faulkner introduces the central figures of the narrative in a manner which allows the reader to view nature as one of them. The wilderness of the Mississippi forest is described as "bigger and older than any recorded document,"² i.e. older than the luminaries of the Yoknapatawpha county such as old Ikkemotubbe, Major de Spain and Thomas Sutpen. Additionally, in a conventional way, it can be identified as Ike's mother, thus, signifying that it is an ancient and primal force within the framework of the story. The matter of Isaac's ancestry and its enduring connection with nature is further analysed by Michael Wainwright:

¹ "By 1942 when he published the novella *The Bear* as a part of a series of connected stories he titled *Go Down, Moses*, Faulkner seemed to argue that man's best chance for earthly salvation, of again finding and embracing the primal human virtues, was a return to nature." Joel Williamson, *William Faulkner and Southern History* (New York, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993), p. 414.

² William Faulkner, "The Bear," in: *Go Down, Moses* (London: Penguin Books, 1985), p. 145.

[Isaac] shoots his first buck and has his face smeared with its blood. Fathers's tutelage has unwittingly exposed a contradiction in the status of his protégé. The hierophant apparent is conterminously a future patrician. Isaac is not only Sam Fathers's heir, but he is also scion to General Compson and Maj. Manfred de Spain, two of the foremost aristocrats in Yoknapatawpha. This European side to his patrimony teaches Isaac about the lives a hunter spills. The association of the Buck with numinous purity and the vital essence of blood in the physical realm, now converge in Isaac's mind. Purity of blood correlates with purity per se.³

As a metaphysical descendant of nature and Yoknapatawpha's aristocracy young McCaslin proves to be worthy of standing face to face with Old Ben. The purity he possesses and the hunting skills he develops provide him with a primal understanding of the wilderness.

The inhabitants of the hinterland, such as the eponymous Old Ben and Sam Fathers, constitute the components of nature's integrity. Old Ben is fashioned by the author into a mythical, godlike entity: "[t]he moment in which Ike McCaslin first sees Old Ben has quasi-religious overtones – the bear appears almost as if by magic in a sunlit glade – and recalls, [...] Mircea Eliade's definition of the mystical encounter with the sacred."⁴ Accounts of his endeavours are deeply rooted in the imagination of the hunters. Old Ben, as envisaged by young Isaac, is an omnipresent, incomprehensible being, one which often haunts his dreams.⁵ Robert E. Spiller aptly addresses these traits and the ambiguity surrounding the animal: "Old Ben is more [a] symbol than a fact, but whether he should be destroyed as a bear or revered as a god is not altogether clear."⁶ Sam Fathers is of African-American and Native American origin; as one can learn from another short story, "The Old People," he decides to leave civilization and live in the backwoods as a guardian of the hunting camp, yet again serving as a future role model for Isaac McCaslin who: "[l]ike [...] Sam Fathers before him, [...] attempts [later in his life] to flee society by immersion in the wilderness."⁷ The deaths of Sam and Old

³ Michael Wainwright, *Darwin and Faulkner's Novels: Evolution and Southern Fiction* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008), p. 140.

⁴ Judith Bryant Wittenberg, "Go Down, Moses and the Discourse of Environmentalism," in: *Bloom's Modern Critical Views: William Faulkner, New Edition*, ed. Harold Bloom (New York: Infobase Publishing, 2008), p. 214.

⁵ Faulkner, "The Bear," p. 147.

⁶ Robert E. Spiller, *The Circle of American Literature: An Essay in Historical Criticism* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1962), p. 299.

⁷ Wainwright, *Darwin and Faulkner's Novels*, p. 150.

Ben mark a moment of transition, in which the elder ones, the ones capable of understanding the rules of the wilderness, are gone and with their departure the wilderness itself begins to perish at the hands of civilization.

"The Bear" can be considered a Bildungsroman, with Ike McCaslin as the main figure. Within the framework of the narrative, Sam Fathers trains Isaac in the trade of a gamekeeper as well as teaching him the Chickasaw's methods of hunting. All of the above establish a rudimentary education for the boy in the frontier. However, Faulkner encourages his audience to view the woodlands as a school of life for Isaac. Sam provides the knowledge that allows Ike to kill his first deer, marking his rite of passage. This education permits Ike to step into his *alma mater* of the Mississippi forest, where Old Ben appears to be his final mentor. Compelled by a strong desire to see the bear in reality, the boy wanders into the wild, equipped with two symbols of culture, a compass and a watch, whose metallic odours make him distinguishable for the animal. Joel Williamson reads this scene noting its environmental aspects evoking their biblical overtones: "[i]n several score pages Faulkner carried us back into the Garden and made all things right by making all things one. Sometimes contradictory, sometimes mysterious, sometimes violent, the natural order is nevertheless whole and harmonious. Figures move, consummation is achieved, the vase breaks, and yet nothing is violated, nothing is lost. Nature just is, and it does – ultimately timeless and placeless, without watch or compass."⁸ Isaac is unable to cross his paths with the bear until he abandons the aforementioned attributes and loses his spatial orientation. In this scene, the boy is given his final lesson; if he wants to witness nature, he has to retreat to the primitive ways and reject the "stench" of culture that, due to its association with temporality and location, sets him apart from nature.⁹

This experience underscores the importance of fear in human life, which the story does not allow us to mistake for cowardice: "He would not even be afraid, not even in the moment when the fear would take

⁸ Williamson, *William Faulkner and the Southern History*, p. 418.

⁹ Isaac's rejection of the watch and the compass is often mentioned by critics who analyse "The Bear." For example, Wainwright writes: "That he can discard manmade navigational aids, his compass and watch, but retain complete topographical awareness, signals his spiritual maturity. No longer tainted by personal effects, Isaac comes upon the Bear for the first time. Harmony with nature is complete. Yet, his encounter in the Big Bottom reveals the startlingly small and ragged stature of Old Ben. [...] [T]here is a gap between theory and actuality. The physical reality fails to match the phantasm. The philosophy of divine eternal Forms should be manifest in the physical presence of this legendary creature." Wainwright, *Darwin and Faulkner's Novels*, p. 141.

him completely: blood, skin, bowels, bones, memory from the long time before it even became memory.”¹⁰ Ike’s angst can be easily connected to the sense of respect towards the marvels of environment he experiences: “Isaac acts; he helps kill the bear; he goes on the hunt to the end of his days. But he knows that efficiency as an end in itself is self-defeating. It is man’s fate to struggle against nature; yet it is wisdom to learn that the fight cannot finally be won, and that the contest has to be conducted with love and humility and in accordance with a code of honor.”¹¹ Altogether, the boy does not learn his lessons, as Faulkner informs his readers in the first paragraph of the story: “only Sam and Old Ben and the mongrel Lion were taintless and incorruptible.”¹² These characters compose a trinity of primal understanding of nature, a group in which Isaac cannot partake. Lion the dog serves as a specific case in the story. In “The Bear,” the hunting dogs are portrayed as terror creatures driven by anxiety, which fully understand their role as merely assisting the hunters. It is possible to read them as beings which have lost their connection to the wild, tamed and by that positioned somewhere between nature and culture. Lion, a mongrel which is almost impossible to be tamed, even after being schooled by Sam, remains to a certain extent feral and unpredictable.¹³ Immediately after its first appearance in the narrative, the reader knows that Lion will hunt Old Ben. Several times in the second section of the story the sentence: “So [Ike] should have hated and feared Lion,”¹⁴ is repeated. It may be argued that this relation of hate and fear between them is a harbinger and a result of Lion’s part in Old Ben’s death. Without him, this primal and godlike creature would not be killed.

The bear hunting in itself serves as a means of returning to a primitive state of existence. All the inhabitants of the county are invited to participate in the event. A specific classless audience gathers and views this

¹⁰ Faulkner, “The Bear,” p. 157.

¹¹ Cleanth Brooks, “History and the Sense of the Tragic,” in: *Bloom’s Modern Critical Views: William Faulkner, New Edition*, ed. Harold Bloom (New York: Infobase Publishing, 2008), p. 25.

¹² Faulkner, “The Bear,” p. 145.

¹³ Wainwright in his Darwinist/Darwinian reading of Faulkner’s story points out: “Lion is akin not only to his new owner Sam Fathers, but also to his custodian, Boon Hogganbeck, who is one-quarter Chickasaw and three-quarters European. Sleeping with the mastiff, Boon’s physical closeness to Lion intimates their shared status.” Wainwright, *Darwin and Faulkner’s Novels*, p. 142. Regardless of their supposed mongrel based superiority both Boon and Lion are ultimately doomed, the former in less glorious manner than the latter.

¹⁴ Faulkner, “The Bear,” pp. 159, 161 and 172.

spectacle of pursuing Old Ben. The democratic aspect of this experience¹⁵ may resemble the tribal society seeking justice for the misdeeds of the malevolent creature. Boon, an inept hunter, kills the bear with a knife (again, Faulkner's turn towards the basics). He stands to the fight only so that he can rescue Lion, which eventually also dies as a result of clash with Old Ben. The mongrel is treated by Boon not only as a fellow hunter but also as a warrior and as such is given a proper burial. As Joel Williamson mentions, he is elevated to a man's status: "Lion's grave and a platform made of saplings raised head high. It supported a blanket-wrapped bundle. This was in fact the manner of a Chickasaw burial."¹⁶ After this turning point, where these two magnificent beasts are no longer among the living, the reader seems to gain some clarity that something is lost: "[t]hus, the ideal is lost beyond recall. The story of *The Bear* conveyed this idea superbly. To kill the Bear was to surrender forever the heart-thumping high life of the chase. Ike McCaslin lived for the chase but dreaded its consummation. For Ike, the ideal would be to continue the chase forever. It is unrequited love kept unrequited."¹⁷ The primal purity and innocence, however violent, seems to dwindle at the dawn of the industrialization of the American South.

Boon is a particularly troubled character, by means of whom Faulkner seems to voice his concerns about the fate of the wilderness. Although initially the tone of the narrative is quite idyllic, it changes when Boon and Ike journey to Memphis in order to buy alcohol. It may be advocated that with this first instance of such saturation of civilization in the story, the threat of culture is exposed. Soon after their arrival it becomes apparent that Boon is an alcoholic with the intellect of an adolescent. Joel Williamson aptly addresses the matter: "In Faulkner's fiction Memphis was the heart of corruption, the amalgamated Sodom and Gomorrah of the mid-South, the very symbol and substance of the evils of modernity."¹⁸ Nevertheless, Boon's importance in this tale becomes clear at the very end of it, a fact to which I would like to return at the end of my article.

The prelude to the trip to the city is the moment when Faulkner mentions for the first time Hook's sawmill, a crucial place for the Mississippi forest in the story as well as in the actual history of the region. The hunting, in which Old Ben was finally killed, was in fact the last one in which Major de Spain and General Compson took part.

¹⁵ Diane Roberts, "Sports in the South," in: *A Companion to the Literature and Culture of the American South*, eds. Richard Gray and Owen Robinson (Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing, 2007), pp. 302–303.

¹⁶ Williamson, *William Faulkner and the Southern History*, p. 417.

¹⁷ Williamson, *William Faulkner and the Southern History*, p. 394.

¹⁸ Williamson, *William Faulkner and the Southern History*, p. 429.

Afterwards, Major sells his land to the lumber industry, a devastating realization for Isaac in the last section of the narrative. Nevertheless, Faulkner recognized the complex character of this process:

Asked, for example, whether “The Bear” portion of the novel was about a conflict between man and the wilderness, Faulkner said that he was not asking anyone to choose sides, that we need rather “to compassionate the good splendid things which change must destroy.” He went on to say that process of change in the landscape must be judged by its outcome: “to clear wilderness just to make cotton land, to raise cotton in an agrarian economy of peonage, slavery, is base because it’s not as good as the wilderness which it replaces. If the destruction of the wilderness means more education for more people and more food, then it was worth destroying.”¹⁹

Isaac, just as Faulkner, is aware of this transaction; nevertheless, the results of the intrusion of civilization into the wilderness remained unfamiliar to Ike until he came back to the hunting spot a few years later. Judith Bryant Wittenberg, while continuing her thought on Faulkner’s awareness of “agrarian economy,” produces a ruthless argument to show why the author cannot be considered a whole-hearted environmentalist: “At the time he wrote *Go Down, Moses* he was, says his biographer, the largest landholder in Oxford, Mississippi, owning, in addition to the land on which his house Rowan Oak stood, the single largest tract of land inside the town – the twenty-four acre Bailey’s Woods – and a three-hundred-and-twenty-acre farm outside Oxford, complete with tenant farmers and even a commissary.”²⁰ It would be hard to imagine a person whose living is made off the land to be an ecological purist. It shows, however, that Faulkner himself apparently valued the rationality of progress and economy rather than clinging to the old-fashioned status quo.

In the story, Faulkner describes an introduction to the devastation of the Mississippi backwoods, the restoration of which he witnessed in reality. The story is set in the 1880s, a time when the gargantuan devouring of the Southern woodlands began. The Mississippi timber was of particular value: “Within the pine county [...] pure longleaf forest in 1880 constituted 75 per cent or more of the total land area. [...] [The forest included] hardwood of commercial importance.”²¹ Thus, Major de Spain can sell his land with profit and remain uninterested in the

¹⁹ Wittenberg, *Go Down, Moses*, p. 202.

²⁰ Wittenberg, *Go Down, Moses*, p. 202.

²¹ Nollie W. Hickman, *Mississippi Harvest: Lumbering in the Longleaf Pine Belt, 1840–1915* (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 2009), p. 2.

prospects of saving the hunting spot. The warnings against possible devastation of the regional wilderness were disregarded in tones such as: "As for the investments of the Northern capital, the South is glad to have it come [...]. We welcome the skilled lumber man with the noisy mill."²² This form of Southern hospitality was met with great interest by investors: "during the years 1881–1883 1,007,010.46 acres of land in Mississippi were acquired by individuals by various land acts. [...] Naturally, the first of these lands to be bought were those located near rafting streams and railroads."²³

This craving for timber introduced technological development into the hinterlands; the symptom that Isaac finds particularly insidious is the railway. As the Mississippi Forest report denotes, "In the 1880s Mississippi's mileage more than doubled from 1,127 to 2,366 miles and by 1910 it totaled 4,223 miles. The railroads were both carriers and consumers of timber."²⁴ In a short period of time, the train line went from the gulf further into the land,²⁵ becoming as omnipresent to Ike's mind as it once was to Old Ben. The lumber industry was set to change the Southern landscape forever: "a plethora of mills large and small sprung along the railroad, and by 1880 Mississippi had 295 lumbering establishments [...] producing 168,747,000 broad feet of lumber."²⁶ As a result, by the time of publication of "The Bear" in 1942, all of the precious hardwood had been processed by the industry.²⁷

Ike notes how the industry changes the forest by introducing the railroad even further into the wilderness and how this terrorizes its inhabitants. Perhaps Wilbur Joseph Cash, in his highly influential *The Mind of the South*, provides the most cogent comment upon the relation of Southern man and the environment: "in his youth and often late into manhood, he ran spontaneous and unpremeditated foot-races [...] and hunted the possum: because the thing was already in his mores when he emerged from the backwoods, because on the frontier it was the obvious thing to do, because he was a hot, stout fellow, full of blood and reared to outdoor activity, because of a primitive and naïve zest for

²² Comer Vann Woodward, *Origins of the New South, 1877–1913* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University, 1967), p. 118.

²³ Hickman, *Mississippi Harvest*, p. 82.

²⁴ James E. Fickle, *Mississippi Forests and Forestry* (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 2001), p. 75.

²⁵ Hickman, *Mississippi Harvest*, p. 56.

²⁶ Fickle, *Mississippi Forests and Forestry*, p. 75.

²⁷ James Seay, "The Southern Outdoors: Bassboats and Bearhunts," in: *The American South: Portrait of Culture*, ed. Louis D. Rubin, Jr. (Washington, D.C.: United States International Communication Agency, 1980), p. 135.

the pursuit in hand.”²⁸ Isaac’s shock is caused by the realization that the place of ventures into the wild begins to vanish and, what may even be more distressing, it becomes civilized in a persistent way. Nevertheless, as I pointed out earlier, the Southern landowners contributed to the devastation of the wilderness since “most of the farmers regarded timber as an obstacle.”²⁹

One might assume that Ike mirrors Faulkner’s anguish towards the changes happening in the Southern landscape,³⁰ which are considered to be “probably the most rapid and reckless destruction of forests known to history.”³¹ However, this was not the only transformation of the regional landscape. During the Great Depression the lumber market crashed and by that the program of reforestation became one of Roosevelt’s ideas within the New Deal program. The CCC (Civilian Conservation Corps) came into existence, which was “aimed at reviving the lagging economy and which marked a renewed interest in the conservation of natural resources through work in the outdoors.”³² The so-called “civilian forest army”³³ was designed to provide work for young American boys, some of whom had never seen a woodland before,³⁴ and create an administered protection of the backcountry. The establishment of national parks followed soon after and “in the first years of the New Deal, the government acquired more than twice the acreage in forest lands as had been purchased in the previous history of national forests.”³⁵ The reforestation was a profound success, one which was a forerunner of the Americanization of the region, as Richard Gray notes: “in just twenty years [from 1940 to 1960] [...] the South changed from ‘a predominantly rural region here and there scattered with cities’ to a substantially urban area with a rural-urban balance much closer to that of the rest of the nation.”³⁶

²⁸ Wilbur Joseph Cash, *The Mind of the South* (London: Vintage Books, 1941), pp. 31–32.

²⁹ Seay, “The Southern Outdoors,” p. 135.

³⁰ The author, while voicing his inspiration for the story, points his readers towards his understanding of the change within the Southern landscape: “Faulkner explained in 1955 that Old Ben is ‘symbolic of nature in an age when nature in a way is being destroyed. That is, the forests are going, being replaced by the machine, and that bear represented the old tradition of nature.’” Wainwright, *Darwin and Faulkner’s Novels*, p. 143.

³¹ Woodward, *Origins of the new South*, p. 118.

³² Gerald W. Williams, *The Forest Service: Fighting for Public Lands* (Westport: Greenwood Press, 2007), p. 23.

³³ William E. Leuchtenburg, *Franklin D. Roosevelt and the New Deal* (New York: Harper & Row, 1965), p. 52.

³⁴ Leuchtenburg, *Franklin D. Roosevelt*, p. 174.

³⁵ Leuchtenburg, *Franklin D. Roosevelt*, p. 174.

³⁶ Richard Gray, *Writing the South: Ideas of an American Region* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), p. 220.

In the context of the aforementioned historical facts, the ending of "The Bear" may be understood as a cry of anxiety caused by the inevitable intrusion of civilization into the wilderness. In the final scene, Isaac stumbles upon the confused and angered Boon, who, while hunting for squirrels, is incapable of getting a jammed shell out of his gun. Boon's agitation in the face of approaching culture as embodied by Isaac may be seen as a result of his inability to adjust to the new reality: "Wildlife is up a gum tree and Boon, whose gun jammed on firing, finds himself disjoined from nature [...]. Just as the gun is out of joint, so is humankind dislocated from the natural order. The southern environment by this time is, as Kate Soper writes, 'suffocating, traumatic, bloody, and generally dysfunctional' rather than 'nurturing, happy, organically unified, and generally functioning'. [...] That he and Isaac will be unable to sustain the southern tradition of man in harmony with nature is dawning on the pair of them."³⁷ Here, the reoccurring motif of returning to the primitive comes full circle. It seems an impossible dream to preserve the ancient relation between man and the wilderness. As James Seay points out, "the feeling of loss which Isaac McCaslin experiences [...] is rendered all the more intense for the reader by Faulkner's success in having created a sense of the sustaining energies generated within the primal depths of the wilderness and the possibility that human beings might connect with those energies."³⁸ Boon separated from them becomes a man driven by anxiety; it is possible then to indicate that Faulkner is "proposing [...] the answer of the primitive to the complexities of the humanity."³⁹ Furthermore, it is possible to interpret this story as a gloomy assumption about mankind, "anonymous individuals who took the Southern wilderness for granted and, independently or as agents of various commercial interests, used it as though its resources were inexhaustible."⁴⁰

The creation of national parks introduces laws and administration into the hinterlands, eradicating their character of primitive liberty; as Stephen Greenblatt observes: "the wilderness is signaled by intensification of the rules, an intensification that serves as the condition of an escape from the asphalt."⁴¹ Once nature becomes a governed unit, it is carefully mapped, thoroughly examined and closely guarded. The natural becomes to a certain extent tamed and civilized; there are periods when one can and cannot hunt, places where one can wander only on specific rules.

³⁷ Wainwright, *Darwin and Faulkner's Novels*, p. 144.

³⁸ Seay, "The Southern Outdoors," p. 132.

³⁹ Spiller, *The Circle of American Literature*, p. 299.

⁴⁰ Seay, "The Southern Outdoors," p. 133.

⁴¹ Stephen Greenblatt, "Towards a Poetics of Culture," in: *The New Historicism*, ed. H. Aram Vesser (New York, London: Routledge, 1989), p. 9.

Isaac's experience of the wilderness is a component of Faulkner's dream of a bear hunt, which with the progression of culture appears to be one derived from the "original innocence"⁴² he portrayed in this story. The wilderness appears to be an exhibit-like experience of which a human being is not necessarily a part but merely a bystander.

⁴² R. W. B. Lewis, "William Faulkner: The Hero in the New World," in: *Faulkner: A Collection of Critical Essays*, ed. Robert Penn Warren (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, 1966), p. 215.

Jakub Gajda

Faulknera sen o polowaniu na niedźwiedzie

Streszczenie

Dla głównego bohatera opowiadania *Niedźwiedź* Williama Faulknera, Ike'a McCaslina, przyroda pełni rolę szkoły życia, dzięki której zdobywa on wyjątkowe spojrzenie na rolę natury w życiu człowieka. Sposób, w który bohater postrzega naturę, można odczytać jako odpowiedź na zmiany zachodzące w krajobrazie stanu Mississippi. Czas akcji opowiadania przypada na początek niepokonowanego wyrębu lasów przez przemysł drzewny. Artykuł łączy ten fakt z codziennością Faulknera, jakiej doświadczył podczas pracy nad opowiadaniem – transformacją lasów Mississippi w trakcie procesu zalesiania w latach 30. ubiegłego wieku. Te dwie zmiany w krajobrazie, dewastacja i odnowa, są odzwierciedlone w opowiadaniu przez odczucia melancholii i niepokoju. Odczucia te można także łatwo powiązać z przekształceniami, które nastąpiły w tożsamości południa USA; antycypowałyby one wówczas przyszłą amerykanizację tego regionu. *Niedźwiedź* może być zatem odczytany jako literacka reakcja na zmiany, które wprowadził Nowy Ład Roosevelta na południu USA.

Jakub Gajda

Faulkners Traum von der Jagd auf Bären

Zusammenfassung

Für den Protagonisten der Erzählung *Der Bär* von William Faulkner, Ike McCaslin, ist die Natur eine richtige Lebensschule, dank der er die Rolle der Natur im menschlichen Leben auf ungewöhnliche Weise betrachten kann. Seine Betrachtung der Natur ist sozusagen eine Antwort auf die in der Landschaft des USA-Bundesstaates Mississippi erfolgenden Veränderungen. Die Handlungszeit fällt auf den Anfang der Baumabholzung durch die Holzbearbeitungsindustrie. Der Verfasser des vorliegenden Essays bringt diese Tatsache mit Faulkners Erlebnissen in Verbindung: der Schriftsteller arbeitete zwar an der Erzählung während der Transformation der Mississippi-Wälder in den 30er Jahren des

vorigen Jahrhunderts. Die zwei Veränderungen der Landschaft: Verwüstung und Erneuerung kommen in der Erzählung im Melancholie- und Unruhegefühl zum Ausdruck. Diese Gefühle können auch mit der Umwandlung der Identität von den Südstaaten verknüpft werden; sie würden dann der künftigen Amerikanisierung der Region vorgreifen. *Der Bär* darf also als eine literarische Reaktion auf die durch die Neue Ordnung Roosevelts in den USA-Südstaaten eingeführten Änderungen betrachtet werden.